- 1 MS. SCHWARTZ: Good afternoon. Donna Schwartz,
- 2 Research Director for the U.S. Advisory Commission on
- 3 Intergovernmental Relations. And I am here today with my
- 4 colleague, Dr. Amy Pool from American University.
- 5 This is an overview or preliminary report, actually, at
- 6 this stage since it's not in our research. I would like to thank
- 7 the Commission and its members for inviting me. I am going to
- 8 try and summarize because I am afraid we got told we have a half
- 9 an hour. And so I am going --
- 10 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Can I ask you --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes. I will.
- 12 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Can I ask you to pull that
- 13 microphone very close to you?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Is this better? All right.
- 15 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Try to tilt it up just a little
- 16 bit.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: ACIR signed for that revised research
- 18 proposal with the National Gambling Study Commission. It was
- 19 approved in June of last year. And it has or it included three
- 20 parts: compilation of data, basically a database of federal,
- 21 state, local, and tribal gaming laws and regulations, which will
- 22 be ready in a couple of months; a compilation, then preparation
- of a report that outlines gaming regulation in the United States;
- 24 and a comparative report detailing differences and similarities
- 25 between those regulations, tribal and industry gaming.
- 26 Following this approval, we solicited proposals
- 27 searching for an outside consultant and selected a group headed

- 1 by Dr. Amy Pool of the Department of Justice at the American
- 2 University.
- 3 We have concluded based on the research budget and the
- 4 time frame that information about regulatory practices in the
- 5 gaming industry would have to be obtained through the
- 6 administration of a telephone survey to sample universal gaming
- 7 establishments.
- 8 And in July, our methodologist, Dr. Ludley of George
- 9 Mason University, who is sitting right behind me, thought about
- 10 the selection of a sample based upon the prevalence of form of
- 11 gaming, dollar volume, and geographical parameters. At the same
- 12 time, we started working on survey instruments.
- In October of last year, ACIR was informed by the
- 14 National Gambling Impact Study Commission that the commissioners
- 15 wished to redirect this research and focus primarily on tribal
- 16 gaming.
- 17 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Point of order, Madam Chair.
- 18 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Certainly.
- 19 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: I have a problem. I've read
- 20 this report, and I was not around. I must have missed something.
- 21 The Commission didn't ask that you redirect your efforts on
- 22 tribal gaming. How does this happen?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: We were formally asked, and we had
- 24 negotiations --
- 25 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: I'd like to have clarification
- 26 from the Chair and for management as to what is occurring here.
- 27 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Madam Chair?

- 1 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Certainly, Commissioner Wilhelm.
- 2 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: If I may comment on Commissioner
- 3 Loescher's point? The second page of the written testimony from
- 4 Ms. Schwartz, as Commissioner Loescher was just indicating, says
- 5 in mid October 1998, ACIR was informed by NGISC that the
- 6 commissioners wish to redirect the research and focus the survey
- 7 primarily on tribal gaming.
- 8 As a member of the Research Subcommittee, I wish to say
- 9 that from my perspective, that's not true. What is true is that
- 10 the enabling statute says that we were directed as a Commission
- 11 to -- "shall contract" is the term -- with the ACIR for, quote, a
- 12 thorough review and cataloguing of all applicable federal, state,
- 13 local, and Native American tribal laws, regulations, and
- 14 ordinances that pertain to gambling in the United States as well
- 15 as some other functions.
- At some point in the late Summer or early Fall of 1998,
- 17 the Research Subcommittee became aware that the ACIR proposed to
- 18 do only a sampling of tribal gaming laws, ordinances, and
- 19 regulations.
- 20 And after considerable discussion, we instructed the
- 21 Executive Director of the Commission -- and my recollection is
- 22 that the Research Subcommittee did this unanimously, I believe --
- 23 to significantly expand their examination of laws, ordinances,
- 24 and regulations affecting the tribes. But never, to my
- 25 recollection, did the subcommittee in any way, shape, or form
- 26 suggest, as this statement says, that ACIR should, quote, "focus
- 27 the survey primarily on tribal gaming, "unquote.

- 1 Unfortunately, we're handicapped by the absence of Dr.
- 2 Kelly, whom I believe probably was involved in those
- 3 conversations. But, at least with respect to the members of the
- 4 subcommittee or speaking at least for myself, -- and I think my
- 5 memory is clear on this point -- we never suggested to ACIR that
- 6 it should not do the job that it is directed by the statute to
- 7 do. I am, frankly, shocked to read that statement.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Mr. Wilhelm, let me comment, if I may.
- 9 The collection or the database of laws and regulation is
- 10 comprehensive. And this statement does not refer to it. It
- 11 refers to the survey, which deals in gaming practices, which was
- 12 something we contracted to do and is not part of what you were
- instructed to do wholly by the statute as far as I recall the
- 14 statute.
- 15 This is the survey of gaming practices. It does not
- 16 refer to the collections of laws and regulations, which is on the
- 17 database and which is separate and complete.
- 18 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Well, I am very disturbed by the
- 19 sentence at the top of Page 2 that says you were informed that
- 20 commissioners wish to redirect the research and focus primarily
- 21 on tribal gaming.
- I am not aware of any such redirection, and I would ask
- 23 for some help from the Research Subcommittee on that; in
- 24 particular, the chair. Can you shed any light on that?
- 25 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: When we were discussing this --
- 26 I'm trying to remember the date.

- MS. SCHWARTZ: November 9th or 10th or 11th, one of
- those, you were at a meeting.
- 3 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: This was in October, not November.
- 4 MS. SCHWARTZ: No. October was the first. Dr.
- 5 McCarthy and I did not talk about this until November, when the
- 6 Commission was meeting. So I'm just referring to a conversation
- 7 we had.
- 8 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: To try to clarify this a little
- 9 bit, I don't think we were changing anything in regard to federal
- 10 or state governments that we had agreed to do up until those
- 11 discussions.
- 12 I think the third we were looking at in those
- 13 discussions was that part which then had been described as tribal
- 14 and local governments in what I have received from you.
- 15 You may recall I was asking local governments: Are we
- 16 looking at cities and counties and what ordinances they're
- 17 involved in because you may recall my saying I think there were
- 18 only a handful of instances where a state delegated a lot of
- 19 authority down to local governments, cities, or counties to
- 20 really be beyond the building codes and the enforcement of those
- 21 things?
- 22 So I think what we did was de-emphasize whatever role
- 23 there might be for cities and counties because it was eligible in
- 24 any event. And I think the thing we discussed was of 305 tribes
- 25 -- I hope I recall the number correctly -- that the total list of
- 26 tribes that you were going to try to compile tribal government

- laws and so on, we were discussing back and forth how many of
- those could be more deeply analyzed and looked at.
- And we as I recall arrived at the number 140. And that
- 4 was going to be broadly representative, but it was going to be
- 5 weighted. And I think your suggestion was a good one. It was
- 6 going to be weighted to make sure we included the larger
- 7 revenue-generating tribal government casino operations. Now,
- 8 that's what I recall.
- 9 So the question before us here I think --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Perhaps, but we changed the rest of the
- 11 sample, if you'll recall, at the same time. Where the sample was
- 12 originally going to be a sample that represented as far as
- 13 surveying, making calls, et cetera, it was originally going to be
- 14 around 250, which may have been slightly less because Dr. Peter
- 15 Reuter suggested that was too many, that were divided among all
- 16 forms of gaming basically on the base of their relative
- 17 contribution. We have changed this to where we were going to
- 18 survey.
- 19 And that's in the letter that I had sent to you at your
- 20 request. And I sent it to you.
- 21 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Right.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Dr. Kelly then authorized to survey 140
- 23 tribal communities and only 25 industries casinos in that number.
- 24 So that the survey, by necessity -- and that letter says, which I
- 25 got -- I was told then by Dr. Kelly was okay, that that changes
- 26 the focus because, even though we were collecting laws and

- 1 regulations from everywhere, we were only calling and surveying
- 2 25 industry gaming institutions in the entire country.
- 3 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: I'll have to look at that. Our
- 4 conversations dealt only with how we were going to approach an
- 5 assessment of tribal government analysis.
- And we recognized that to do a good analysis and not
- 7 just simply a compilation of all of the laws of tribal
- 8 governments, we would have to reduce the number. And that's how
- 9 we came up to 140.
- I don't remember in any of our conversations unless it
- 11 was something separate with Tim Kelly --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: No. Well, it was part of --
- 13 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: -- that we were changing the --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: -- the same conversation because we had
- 15 --
- 16 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Pardon?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: It was part of the same conversation
- 18 because we had to get down from the total of 250.
- 19 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Right.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: And we agreed on a number. And you
- 21 wanted 140. We agreed on a number. And so we ended up with --
- 22 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: What happened to the other 110?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Well, by then we were in November.
- 24 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: You mean that's the total of
- 25 federal, state, and tribal governments being more deeply
- 26 analyzed? Is that what you're --

- MS. SCHWARTZ: One thing is just a report on laws. The
- 2 other is the practices.
- 3 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Got you.
- 4 MS. SCHWARTZ: And you were totally aware that --
- 5 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: We're getting the first one.
- 6 We understand that. That covers everybody.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Right. Then when we went to the survey,
- 8 we were originally going to do 250. Then we had a meeting, which
- 9 -- COMMISSIONER LEONE: Two hundred, fifty what? I mean,
- 10 I don't know that that --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: We were going to survey 250 gaming
- 12 institutions and their respective --
- 13 COMMISSIONER LEONE: Of all types?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Of all types.
- 15 COMMISSIONER LEONE: Okay.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: And the original intent --
- DR. POOL: These numbers refer to actual outlets, --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Right.
- DR. POOL: -- for clarification.
- 20 MS. SCHWARTZ: Gaming outlets, right.
- 21 COMMISSIONER LEONE: So you mean an individual outlet
- 22 could be --
- DR. POOL: Right. That is correct.
- 24 COMMISSIONER LEONE: Several of them could be --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: It could be a racetrack.
- 26 COMMISSIONER LEONE: Okay.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: It could be one --

- 1 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Madam Chairman?
- 2 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Commissioner Loescher?
- 3 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Madam Chairman, you know, I'm
- 4 trying to be calm about this.
- 5 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: And we really do appreciate that.
- 6 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: You know, the statute that
- 7 covers this Commission is very explicit about the information
- 8 database requests on state, federal, tribal, local laws dealing
- 9 with gaming, all forms of gaming.
- 10 On that point, my expectation was much before this
- 11 date, we would have a compilation, a listing, if you will,
- 12 accessibility to all the laws and regulations in America dealing
- 13 with every kind of gaming in America produced.
- 14 The law specifically said that we had to use your
- 15 agency, to work through your agency to get this done. The
- 16 statute is absolutely clear. I don't know where in the process
- 17 this all went awry, but here we are in March, almost April.
- We started this process in July of last year with your
- 19 organization. My understanding from Native Americans is that
- 20 maybe in December, you sent out an inquiry to Native Americans.
- 21 We never saw that, but the tribal governments, the whatnot. We
- 22 haven't confirmed that.
- We understand your contract was renegotiated by the
- 24 Commission. I don't understand what was renegotiated and what
- 25 the outputs are and what the money considerations were, but I
- 26 think those are of concern.

- But then I'm reading this report, which you're about to
- 2 give, and I'm so upset and concerned about what you all are
- 3 doing. Then we get this survey of laws and regulations, which is
- 4 a total imbalance, 141 tribal operations versus 25.
- Is it casinos that you're looking at or what is it,
- 6 when we know that 37 states are involved in lotteries, when we
- 7 know how many states are involved in the horse racing, how many,
- 8 you know, on and on?
- 9 There are laws for all of this stuff. Why are you
- 10 focusing on this kind of thing? It's a total imbalance in terms
- 11 --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: It was not my call, sir.
- 13 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Well, I don't know if it's your
- 14 charge, but I'm sort of laying out to the Commission that this
- 15 thing started wrong. It was amended, and it's wrong. This
- 16 report they're about to give is wrong in terms of its balance.
- 17 And the products that at least this commissioner was
- 18 expecting to come out of this effort are nonexistent. And I'm
- 19 outraged by what's gone on here. Madam Chair, I respectfully
- 20 submit that something more than the committee on studies here
- 21 needs to deal with this matter.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Let me just say one thing. The
- 23 collection of citations of all the laws and regulations exists.
- 24 It's --
- 25 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: When will that be released to this
- 26 Commission?

- MS. SCHWARTZ: Well, it was supposed to be on the
- 2 database in May. And you will get it on the database in May. I
- 3 had the collection of both state regulations and all the laws in
- 4 numerical. I had it in my office and believe I offered it to
- 5 your staff members when they came up a few weeks ago.
- 6 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: On database?
- 7 MS. SCHWARTZ: It is right now not a CD-ROM. That was
- 8 not promised until May. It is right. But I do have hard copies
- 9 of the collection of laws and regulation. And those I offered
- 10 them then.
- 11 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: And they said they didn't want it
- 12 or --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Well, they said at that point, I believe
- 14 --
- DR. POOL: We are waiting for the database.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Did you all not make a copy of that? So
- 17 you took it and made copies? Yes.
- 18 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: What have you done? I can't
- 19 figure out what you've done. You've done a compilation of all
- 20 the laws and regulations --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: We've done a compilation of all the laws
- 22 and --
- 23 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: -- of states, local governments,
- 24 and tribes.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Now, the tribal stuff is not yet
- 26 complete. We have collected as much as we could get from the
- 27 National Indian Gaming Commission. And then, as we agreed, we

- 1 sent a letter that, actually, the Commission or Dr. Kelly saw it,
- 2 I believe, or Doug Seay signed off.
- 3 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Slow down for just a minute. Just
- 4 be responsive. So you've collected I assume all the compacts
- 5 between state and tribal governments.
- DR. POOL: There are 24 compacts. We have a sampling
- 7 of ten compacts at this time.
- 8 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Okay. So you've sampled the
- 9 compacts. You've gotten tribal gaming ordinances.
- DR. POOL: To the extent that it is legally possible to
- 11 do so, tribal governments, that varies as to whether they will
- 12 release that. I believe that the Study Commission itself sent
- out a letter requesting the tribes provide the ordinances. That
- 14 is the reason that it is not currently on CD-ROM, Commissioner
- 15 James, because we are waiting to see how much participation we
- 16 will receive from tribal governments with respect to the
- 17 ordinances and the compacts, whether they will be voluntary --
- 18 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Okay. Now, you also collected
- 19 state law?
- DR. POOL: That is correct.
- 21 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: And you've collected state
- 22 regulation?
- DR. POOL: That's correct.
- 24 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: And you've collected federal law
- 25 probably as it relates to tribal gaming primarily because that's
- 26 the primary federal involvement.
- DR. POOL: Right.

- 1 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Now, then, you've also done a
- 2 survey to measure efficiency of the regulatory apparatus?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: The survey was basically of regulatory
- 4 practices. And that's why I said that is not mandated.
- 5 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: I wasn't aware of the survey.
- 6 MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes.
- 7 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: So why don't you explain the
- 8 survey?
- 9 DR. POOL: If I may respond as the researcher?
- 10 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Because I don't understand what --
- 11 the survey must have been intended to develop a major regulatory
- 12 efficiency, regulatory practices, something of that nature?
- DR. POOL: What the survey -- the purpose or the
- 14 utility of the survey, irrespective or separate from the
- 15 compilation of the laws --
- 16 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: The compilation of the laws
- 17 doesn't tell you anything other than --
- DR. POOL: Right, right. It's to determine the degree
- 19 to which the actual practices at gaming enterprises and/or local
- 20 state or tribal governments vary from the actual law. How are
- 21 the practices governing the daily operation of the institution
- 22 varying from what is written in law? What are the actual
- 23 policies? What are the tribal policies? What are the industry
- 24 policies that deal with the everyday workings of these
- 25 facilities?
- 26 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Okay. Now, according to that
- 27 effort, then, will you have solicited information from, say, how

- 1 many employees you have involved in the regulatory process? What
- 2 are their --
- DR. POOL: That is correct.
- 4 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: -- knowledge, skills, and
- 5 abilities in --
- DR. POOL: That is what our survey has measured. And
- 7 that's what I was intending to present today.
- 8 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: I was aware of --
- 9 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Let me ask a point of -- and I'll
- 10 turn it back over to you, Bill, after that. This is what --
- 11 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Not a bad idea, though.
- 12 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: This is what the staff said they
- 13 got from you ten days ago, which is the state summaries.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: They got I hope -- the state summaries
- 15 were just one part of the things they got from us. I offered
- 16 them a whole --
- 17 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Who is "they"? Who from the staff
- 18 was over there?
- 19 MS. SCHWARTZ: Doug Seay, Kate Spilde, and Valerie were
- 20 up in my office --
- 21 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Okay.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: And I apologize for not remembering
- 23 Valerie's last name.
- 24 -- were up in my office. And I said I don't have a
- 25 finished report, but I have some of these materials. And they
- 26 included these state summaries, which should be put into one
- 27 format, rather than different, in which they are now.

- 1 They included this list of statutes that we have
- 2 compiled. That's a big folder that they took down with them and
- 3 a few sample compacts that I had and a couple of sample
- 4 ordinances.
- DR. POOL: There is a model ordinance on which 90
- 6 percent of the ordinances are based. There is a recommended,
- 7 quote, unquote --
- 8 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Tribal ordinances.
- 9 DR. POOL: That is correct. That is correct.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: And so I've given them that entire
- 11 thing. They took two days to copy it. It was more than just
- 12 this. And they got a --
- 13 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: John, please feel free.
- MR. SHOSKY: I'm the deputy director. And I think at
- 15 the moment, maybe it's time for me to butt in here. We did
- 16 actually get a couple of notices as well. The only thing we
- 17 Xeroxed was this page.
- 18 COMMISSIONER LEONE: I just wanted to say that I hope
- 19 Belletire is being paid by the hour.
- 20 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: I do know that he has a flight this
- 21 afternoon, and I am sensitive to that.
- MR. SHOSKY: I'll share this with you.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Certainly.
- MR. SHOSKY: Madam Chair, we did send some people up a
- 25 few days ago. We're all in the same building. So you guys were
- 26 nice enough to meet with us. And we sent up a team of people.

- 1 Essentially, we just wanted to see how things were going, but as
- 2 well there's a regulation chapter draft that's due in a few days.
- And so I asked if we could get some material so I could
- 4 get started absorbing information and trying to put something
- 5 together. And what we got was a state summary that you have,
- 6 which I did Xerox. And there were two notebooks that were about
- 7 this thick with a lot of material, which I looked through and I
- 8 just sent back up.
- 9 So the only thing we actually kept is that. And we did
- 10 have it for two days.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: But you are more than welcome to the
- 12 state citations at any time you want them at the format they're
- 13 in right now.
- 14 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Now, when are we going to get this
- 15 state survey or this survey? That must be Dr. Pool's.
- DR. POOL: That's correct.
- 17 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: This survey now has been -- the
- 18 questions have been developed. There has been --
- 19 DR. POOL: The survey was developed. A sample was
- 20 drawn. We have surveyed -- part of my presentation would talk
- 21 you through our sample population. We have completed on the
- 22 order of 105 of them. We are sampling the bottom 36 in terms of
- 23 revenue categories. That is still an ongoing process.
- 24 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: And when are we going to --
- DR. POOL: The majority of the survey is finished.
- 26 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: And when are we going to see all
- 27 of this data?

- DR. POOL: They would like a report by March 29th, I
- 2 understand. Is that correct?
- 3 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Them liking it and us getting it,
- 4 I mean --
- DR. POOL: Excuse me, please?
- 6 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: When are we going to see it?
- 7 DR. POOL: I'm sorry?
- 8 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: I'm just curious as a procedure.
- 9 I mean, you then are going to present the results of this survey
- 10 at the end of this month, and you're going to meet that time
- 11 line?
- DR. POOL: Well, I was going to explain to you today
- 13 what some of the generalizable findings are, in fact, we can make
- 14 at this time, having completed much of the survey.
- 15 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: May we just ask, Madam Chair,
- 16 just to get back to the key point raised earlier by Mr. Loescher
- 17 and Mr. Wilhelm? I'm sorry. I don't have my notes in front of
- 18 me. So I'm having difficulty recalling the number 25 to pertain
- 19 to the federal government, which is one entity, I take it.
- 20 MS. SCHWARTZ: No, not federal government. Industry --
- DR. POOL: Twenty-five are the industry outlets.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Industry outlets, not federal
- 23 government. There's only one federal government --
- 24 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Twenty-five non-tribal --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Non-tribal.
- 26 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: -- gambling facility outlets.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Right.

- 1 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Tell me: How many states does
- 2 that represent?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: It represents 12 in the sample we have
- 4 drawn.
- 5 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Represents 12 states?
- 6 MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes.
- 7 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: And tell me the mix of types of
- 8 gambling.
- 9 MS. SCHWARTZ: The idea on the choice was to be as wide
- 10 as we possibly can. So we have casinos, card rooms, racing
- 11 operations.
- 12 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Lottery outlets.
- DR. POOL: Correct.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes, lottery outlets.
- DR. POOL: These are all part of the prepared remarks
- 16 that we have that I think would allay many, Commissioner
- 17 Loescher, many of your --
- 18 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: Madam Chair, it's not going to
- 19 allay my concerns.
- DR. POOL: No. I mean, I can address some of the
- 21 points that you have raised in it.
- 22 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: I'm outraged as I sit here. I
- 23 don't know who commissioned this kind of work. And we need to
- 24 understand from the outset before you give this report how this
- 25 came about. What business is it of yours how --
- DR. POOL: It was over my objection --
- 27 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: -- this business of --

- DR. POOL: -- that these modifications were made.
- 2 COMMISSIONER LOESCHER: -- trying to match the laws and
- 3 the applicable effectiveness of the laws? What expertise do you
- 4 folks have? What is the questionnaire? Who commissioned this
- 5 questionnaire? All of those questions are germane to this
- 6 discussion.
- 7 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: What I'm going to do at this point
- 8 is to thank our deputy, ask him to have a seat over here. I'm
- 9 going to ask you, Leo, if you would walk us through the process
- 10 in October and November that was taken through the Research
- 11 Subcommittee, voted on unanimously by the entire Research
- 12 Subcommittee, just briefly and bring us up to speed as to how we
- 13 got to this particular point.
- 14 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Well, as I recall the
- 15 discussion with my steel trap mind, I think the feeling was at
- 16 the time that since we were the most ignorant about tribal
- 17 government laws and about their governance of gambling
- 18 facilities, that we did through two or three discussions arrive
- 19 at the conclusion that we looked at the first offering from ACIR.
- 20 We thought it was going to be very light in the tribal area.
- 21 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: "We" being?
- 22 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: The Research Subcommittee. We
- 23 had the least knowledge in that area. And I think the
- 24 discussions that we had, John, Jim, and I, led us to try to back
- 25 off what was described as local governments because we didn't see
- 26 much fruit being borne examining cities and counties, and to
- 27 redirect that interest to tribal governments.

- Now, what I'm puzzled about at this moment with my
- 2 steel trap mind is that I'm trying to recall the discussion we
- 3 had -- I can only remember the discussion on that part of it
- 4 which dealt with what were described in the original
- 5 recommendation as local government and tribal government.
- And I don't remember changes in whatever it was we were
- 7 originally going to do in this area with facilities administered
- 8 largely by state government apparatus.
- 9 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Madam Chair?
- 10 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Certainly, Commissioner Wilhelm.
- 11 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: If I might try again from memory
- 12 to supplement Commissioner McCarthy's recollection? The statute
- 13 directs us to use ACIR for two purposes. One is a thorough
- 14 review and cataloguing of all applicable federal, state, local,
- 15 and Native American tribal laws, regulations, and ordinances that
- 16 pertain to gambling in the United States.
- 17 Second, to use ACIR for assistance in conducting a
- 18 number of other studies, part of which is beyond the actual laws,
- 19 regulations, and ordinances, policies, and practices with respect
- 20 to regulation.
- 21 My recollection of the information that was given to
- 22 the Research Subcommittee, I believe was through Dr. Kelly,
- 23 although I'm not certain of that, in the fall, was that ACIR
- 24 proposed to provide all of the laws, regulations, and ordinances
- 25 pertaining to federal, state, and local gaming operations but not
- 26 all of the laws, regulations, and ordinances pertaining to tribal
- 27 gaming operations.

- With respect to the so-called survey about the, to use
- 2 a simplistic term, effectiveness of the regulatory process,
- 3 again, it's my recollection that ACIR proposed to provide us with
- 4 information about some, though not all, of the tribal operations.
- I have a distinct recollection of extensive discussion
- 6 about the fact that since the compacts, the ordinances, the
- 7 regulatory bodies in the tribal gaming field vary considerably
- 8 one from another, which has as its underpinning the concept of
- 9 sovereignty, that a sample would not be an accurate
- 10 representation of the overall regulatory laws and practices and
- 11 that what we ought to have is all of them; that is, all federal,
- 12 all state, all local, and all tribal. And we were told that that
- 13 was not practical within the reach of the contract or the dollars
- 14 that were available or the time.
- So I have the same recollection as Commissioner
- 16 McCarthy that the subcommittee said: Well, you know, the
- 17 question of local gaming regulation really is relatively minor.
- 18 So we have a resource and time problem. Let's not worry much
- 19 about that.
- I don't know what correspondence may have gone back and
- 21 forth between Dr. Kelly and the ACIR, but beyond that, I do not
- 22 have any recollection that there was supposed to be a diminution
- 23 in the examination of non-tribal facilities.
- 24 My recollection is that the discussion was only about
- 25 the under-representation in the original ACIR proposal with
- 26 respect to tribal gaming outlets. And I don't recall anybody
- 27 suggesting that in order to accommodate what is still not a

- 1 complete examination of tribal gaming but apparently is only a
- 2 larger sample, that we were going to also reduce the examination
- 3 of non-tribal. I have no recollection of that point.
- Now, I do recollect that we were told by Dr. Kelly
- 5 that, the subcommittee was told by Dr. Kelly that, we couldn't
- 6 within the resources and time available examine all of the tribal
- 7 regulations and compacts. Apparently this is being confirmed by
- 8 Dr. Pool.
- 9 That is, my understanding -- correct me if I'm wrong.
- 10 My understanding of what you said a moment ago is that at some
- 11 point in the future, which may not do us any good because the
- 12 report may have been written.
- But, at any rate, at some point in the future you're
- 14 going to give us if I heard you right all of the federal and
- 15 state laws and regulations but only a sampling of the tribal laws
- 16 and regulations, ordinances, and compacts. Did I understand you
- 17 right?
- 18 DR. POOL: That is correct. And part of your
- 19 justification for the modification or the request for
- 20 modification was to be able to supplement for the fact that we
- 21 would not have that information. So you are correct in that.
- 22 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Well, the bottom line from my
- 23 perspective as one member of the subcommittee is: one, I thought
- 24 we were supposed to get all of the laws, regulations, ordinances,
- 25 and compacts. I did not understand that we were only going to
- 26 get a sampling of those, both tribal and non-tribal.

- Otherwise Commissioner Loescher is absolutely right.
- 2 There was a specific and very explicit directive in the statute
- 3 that we're supposed to have a catalogue of all of those, not some
- 4 of them.
- 5 So I'm disappointed to hear apparently that not only
- 6 are we going to get this too late to use it but also it's not
- 7 going to be complete with respect to federal, state, local, and
- 8 tribal laws, ordinances, and regulations. The statute is quite
- 9 directive on that point.
- Now, this other question of how you assess the
- 11 efficiency or the effectiveness of the regulation and all of
- 12 that, the only discussion that I recall in that area is that no
- 13 segment of the gaming business should be under-represented.
- I do not recall suggesting we should under-represent
- one kind in order to partially deal with the under-representation
- of another kind. I do not remember that at all.
- But on the first point, since I don't have very much
- 18 hope about this assessment of the efficiency and effectiveness
- 19 any more, at a minimum, I do not see how we can not have a
- 20 complete set of all of the laws, regulations, ordinances, and
- 21 compacts, as we are directed to by the statute.
- You said there are 24 tribal compacts in the country.
- 23 That sounds low to me. But, even if 24 is right, which doesn't
- 24 seem possible -- did I misunderstand you? DR. POOL: If I
- 25 may, I have told Dr. Kelly about the availability of the
- 26 ordinances and compacts. He's very well-aware of it. This may

- 1 be a legal issue that we are simply not qualified to resolve as
- 2 to whether --
- 3 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: What is the legal issue?
- DR. POOL: Whether tribes need to provide their
- 5 ordinances.
- 6 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Oh, you're talking about it's a
- 7 production issue that they have --
- 8 MS. SCHWARTZ: Right. NIGC --
- 9 DR. POOL: That's correct.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: -- was only willing to provide a sample,
- 11 I believe.
- DR. POOL: That's correct. I negotiated the release of
- 13 ten -- they have a model ordinance. I then negotiated the
- 14 release of ten ordinances that they believe to be representative
- 15 of the balance. However, it remains a legal question as to
- 16 whether this Commission would be entitled to that information.
- 17 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: But you have all of the compacts.
- 18 The compacts are executed by the states and I assume are public
- 19 documents from the state side of the equation.
- 20 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Is that correct?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: We do not have all of the compacts.
- 22 However --
- 23 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Why?
- 24 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Why?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Because at this stage, we haven't
- 26 received all the compacts. We have asked the tribes. The letter
- 27 that came from the Commission --

- 1 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Why don't we ask the state?
- DR. POOL: The request was made on behalf of the
- 3 Commission, --
- 4 MS. SCHWARTZ: Right. The request was made on behalf
- 5 --
- 6 DR. POOL: -- not us.
- 7 MS. SCHWARTZ: -- of the Commission. When I have tried
- 8 asking the states, a couple of them, I would say, -- I have not
- 9 asked all of them -- I got referred to the Federal Register.
- 10 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: They have to publish in the
- 11 Federal Register --
- DR. POOL: That's correct.
- 13 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: -- in order for a compact to be
- 14 effective.
- 15 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: How hard is it to get the compacts?
- 16 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Not very hard.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Well, if the tribes provide it, it's
- 18 very easy. If we get them, if I can get them from the states, I
- 19 will. I have absolutely no problem --
- 20 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Well, the states are party --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: -- calling every single state.
- 22 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: The states are party to all of
- 23 these compacts.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes.
- 25 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: And I've got to believe in all 48
- 26 states or however many states have them, there are probably
- 27 records that are public documents.

- 1 MS. SCHWARTZ: If I can get them, I will.
- 2 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: What's wrong with sending some
- 3 interns to the Federal Register and getting them all?
- 4 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: Madam Chairman?
- 5 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: I mean, I really want to know if
- 6 I'm missing something here.
- 7 MS. SCHWARTZ: We were having problems with NIGC not
- 8 willing to provide them and with tribes not sending them. So we
- 9 figured if we were going to -- the tribes got a letter. And if
- 10 they will send them, then every single piece of legislation, law,
- 11 regulation, policy document will be included in this database.
- If I can get it anywhere else, I will also get a
- 13 database.
- 14 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Well, NIGC may not even have them
- 15 because they're filed with the Secretary of Interior. He's a
- 16 signatory to all of these compacts.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: NIGC filed with what?
- 18 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: Madam Chairman, as the --
- 19 DR. POOL: They denied us access to it.
- 20 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: -- third member of the Research
- 21 --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Right. Who was it?
- 23 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Excuse me. Just a minute, ladies.
- 24 Commissioner?
- 25 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: As a third member of the Research
- 26 Committee, it's obvious that each of us has a little piece of the
- 27 memory of what took place. Let me tell you what --

- DR. POOL: I do have it all in writing.
- 2 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: -- my view is so --
- DR. POOL: So I can provide it to you.
- 4 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: As a matter of fact, Mr. Reed
- 5 just went out to get his minutes. It was in the Chicago meeting
- 6 that we discovered that your understanding was not the same as
- 7 ours. And you remember our disappointment at that time over what
- 8 you were going to provide regarding non-Indian gaming facilities.
- 9 At that time, you indicated to us that Dr. Kelly had
- 10 told you that what you had originally agreed upon was not going
- 11 to be possible with the amount of resources that you had been
- 12 provided.
- 13 There was some disagreement in the beginning about how
- 14 much money the Commission was going to give ACIR and that this
- 15 entire area was going to be explored. At least that was our
- 16 understanding. We got to the Chicago meeting and discovered that
- 17 you were not going to do that.
- 18 And Dr. Kelly then later confirmed that he had had some
- 19 conversations with you all that modified the --
- 20 DR. POOL: August 4th he modified our original
- 21 contract.
- 22 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: That's right. He's not here to
- 23 give us his side of that, but I think the confusion we're having
- 24 was over that issue in that Chicago meeting. And we came to
- 25 terms on it.
- Leo, do you remember the interaction?

- 1 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Well, I remember what happened
- 2 was that the number of dollars that were being provided to ACIR
- 3 to do the study were cut in half. And that's when we started
- 4 discussing how we would reduce the scope of the contract.
- 5 The bit that's missing in my memory is how many
- 6 gambling facility outlets in different states we were going to
- 7 examine, different types of gambling facilities, that are
- 8 essentially governed by state law and the state regulatory
- 9 bodies.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes.
- 11 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Madam Chair, if I could just
- 12 sum up because may I respectfully suggest to everybody we get to
- 13 the report? And then we can ask a lot more questions.
- 14 As I understand it, in your 25 sample non-tribal
- outlets, you have examined 25, a mix. They represent 12 states.
- DR. POOL: Yes.
- 17 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: All right. As to the tribal
- 18 casino operations, the Commission sent a letter to quite a number
- 19 -- I'm trying to remember the exact number -- 305. Three
- 20 hundred, five I think was the length of your list.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Two hundred, eighty-one because they
- 22 were based on a --
- 23 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: That's right.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: -- year prior report.
- 25 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: That's right. And of those 305
- 26 or whatever the number is in that range, how many have you heard

- 1 back from? How many sent you voluntarily a copy of their
- 2 ordinances, their regulations, if any?
- 3 MS. SCHWARTZ: One.
- 4 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: One? One?
- 5 MS. SCHWARTZ: Now, I will say the letter did not go
- 6 until --
- 7 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Let me ask a couple of more
- 8 questions.
- 9 MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes.
- 10 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: If the letter didn't go to
- 11 everybody, we should have corrected that immediately and made
- 12 sure it did go to everybody. But if we sent out to a few
- 13 hundred, we got one willing to share with us, all right.
- 14 Then what I hear Dr. Pool saying is that subsequently
- 15 you entered into negotiations with I'm not sure who and got them
- 16 to send you some basic ordinances copied by many tribes but ten
- 17 other samples of ordinances adopted by various tribes. Did I get
- 18 that correctly?
- 19 DR. POOL: Yes. NIGC voluntarily provided these
- 20 materials to us.
- 21 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Okay. So, in essence, the
- 22 reason you don't have the compilation of tribal government laws
- is you have been refused?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: We have not yet because we have not yet
- 25 made follow-up phone calls, which were on my agenda for next
- week.

- 1 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Wait a minute. What date did
- 2 the Commission letter go out?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: The letter was going to go out after the
- 4 survey was almost finished so we don't put too much on this
- 5 thing. And the letter I believe went out -- I don't know.
- 6 Somebody in -- Doug just walked in. Maybe Doug knows which date
- 7 the letter went out.
- 8 MR. SEAY: Which letter?
- 9 MS. SCHWARTZ: The letter to the tribes requesting that
- 10 they submit all of this information.
- 11 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Laws and regulations.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Last month, right.
- 13 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Rough date.
- MR. SEAY: Mid February, early February.
- 15 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Okay. And --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: We had given them, I believe, or the
- 17 idea was to provide about three working weeks before we started
- 18 making follow-up phone calls.
- 19 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: So that would have been roughly
- 20 the end of the first week in March?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Right.
- 22 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: And I take it you have not
- 23 heard back from anybody --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: As I said, I have actually correct this
- 25 information --
- 26 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: -- or the Commission hasn't?

- MS. SCHWARTZ: I was supposed to hear. I heard from
- 2 one person, who has said they have provided the information to
- 3 the Commission while testifying --
- 4 DR. POOL: In Seattle.
- 5 MS. SCHWARTZ: -- in Seattle, I believe. And that
- 6 person promised to send me a copy anyway.
- 7 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Okay.
- 8 MS. SCHWARTZ: Doug Seay heard from one person, the
- 9 Oneidas, I believe, who said he has their information, and he is
- 10 going to provide me that information. And I got one set of
- 11 complete information so far.
- 12 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: So what we have is a mandated
- 13 congressional study to look at federal -- federal laws were
- 14 included.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes.
- 16 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: State and tribal laws.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes.
- 18 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: We will have a reasonable
- 19 sample that I think the members of the Research Committee had the
- 20 impression would be larger than 25 sample outlets. But we can
- 21 look through our notes and correspondence and try to verify where
- 22 we are in that.
- 23 And with the presence of Dr. Kelly, I think that will
- 24 help a great deal. And we cannot carry out the congressional
- 25 mandate as to tribal governments.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: I believe we will carry out a lot more
- 27 of it than has been carried so far, but it will not, I believe,

- 1 ever be fully completed, as we can tell from the part that has --
- 2 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: You have gotten one response to
- 3 over 300 letters from the Commission. So what is the reason for
- 4 your optimism?
- 5 MS. SCHWARTZ: Well, I say we have the samples that
- 6 have been provided by the National Indian Gaming Commission. We
- 7 have a few that were very easy to get that are not part of that
- 8 that I managed to download off the different state Web sites.
- 9 And every one of those that was available has been downloaded.
- 10 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: All right.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: So that makes it a larger --
- 12 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Okay. Now, that's the first
- 13 part of what you were going to do here.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes.
- 15 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: The second part was assessing
- 16 approximately 140 tribes which would require a back and forth
- 17 conversation, analysis.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: I have that. That's been done or that's
- 19 being done. That is not part of the same stuff. The survey
- 20 where Amy is was complete with about --
- 21 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: You've had conversations with
- 22 140 different tribal governments?
- DR. POOL: We have currently had conversations with
- 24 over 100 of the 140 --
- 25 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Tribal governments? Well,
- 26 that's fine.
- DR. POOL: That is correct.

- 1 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Okay. All right.
- DR. POOL: If I may correct one thing about the
- 3 beginning part? There are 161 compacts with 145 tribes in 24
- 4 states. Once you have a state, that's why the number 24, the
- 5 state company. You have a very good idea of that relationship
- 6 between the state and the tribal --
- 7 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: So you have a good deal of
- 8 information regarding the application of the ordinances?
- 9 DR. POOL: Yes, sir, that's correct.
- 10 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: What we're not certain of is
- 11 whether the model ordinance is adopted and a lot of the tribal
- 12 governments you've talked to.
- DR. POOL: As I indicated before, that's over 90
- 14 percent, the degree to which the ordinance is --
- 15 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Do you have a list of tribal
- 16 governments that have adopted that model ordinance?
- DR. POOL: I believe that's -- NIGC has that in their
- 18 compliance reports, do they not?
- 19 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Did it identify those as ones
- 20 who use the model ordinance?
- DR. POOL: I cannot state for certain. I believe that
- 22 they do.
- 23 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: And the other key question is
- 24 if you --
- DR. POOL: Has a compact.
- 26 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: If you took the top 20 or 30
- 27 biggest revenue generators, I assume they're much more complex,

- 1 much more sophisticated. It's likely they won't be using the
- 2 model ordinance. Foxwoods undoubtedly has a far more extensive
- 3 law.
- 4 Do you have from any of those major generators of
- 5 revenue among the trial governments that do operate casinos?
- 6 Have you been able to get copies of any of those laws and analyze
- 7 them?
- 8 DR. POOL: I'm not certain. I do know the top 20
- 9 revenue generators. And if you'll give us a minute, Meredith may
- 10 be able to check to see from whom we have the ordinances relative
- 11 to the revenue categorization. We may well.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: We have surveyed them all, even if we
- 13 did not get the written ordinance.
- DR. POOL: That is correct.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Not a sample because, as Dr. Pool will
- 16 tell you when she does her presentation, the decision was to
- 17 focus on high revenue generators. So she has actually created a
- 18 census of the entire top three revenue-generating categories and
- 19 sampled the base.
- DR. POOL: The population that we have surveyed totals
- 21 approximately 91 percent of the revenue generated by tribal
- 22 gaming.
- 23 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Okay. At this point, what I'm
- 24 going to ask you to do is to hold questions. Let them work
- 25 through the remainder of their presentation. And then we'll have
- 26 questions.

- 1 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Before you do that, I just want to
- 2 clarify and understand now. Ordinances, if I remember the
- 3 requirements under IGRA, whenever a tribe engages in Class 2 or
- 4 Class 3 gaming, they're required to adopt an ordinance and file
- 5 that ordinance or have that ordinance approved by the NIGC;
- 6 correct?
- 7 MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes.
- 8 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: And NIGC has taken the position
- 9 that those ordinances are not public record?
- DR. POOL: I don't believe NIGC is taking that
- 11 position, sir. I believe it is the actual tribes. There is
- 12 pending litigation in state courts, I believe, over this issue at
- 13 this time.
- 14 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: The ordinance is not like the
- 15 secret to the atom bomb.
- DR. POOL: This is correct.
- 17 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: They're simply governing
- 18 documents. They're very, very boring. I've heard a number of
- 19 them. I don't envy you.
- DR. POOL: There are only a couple of tribes I --
- 21 COMMISSIONER LEONE: They have them, in China, I think.
- 22 (Laughter.)
- 23 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: They probably do. But the NIGC
- 24 probably couldn't figure out how to give them to them.
- 25 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: With that, please continue.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Mr. Bible, just one comment. We have a
- 27 letter on record and as does --

- DR. POOL: Doug Seay.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: -- Doug Seay that stated what they were
- 3 and were not willing to give us from NIGC and --
- 4 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: There's incredible. There's no
- 5 proprietary information in any of these ordinances. They're
- 6 simply how you do business.
- 7 MS. SCHWARTZ: I realize that. But, unfortunately, I
- 8 cannot get them from NIGC and the tribes will not respond to
- 9 requests for information -- and, unlike state law, Westlaw does
- 10 not have them online.
- 11 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: I understand.
- 12 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Ms. Schwartz, please.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: I'm going to try and shorten this as
- 14 much as I possibly can, but before I do, I really do want to
- 15 thank Dr. Pool and everybody at American University as well as
- 16 the Office of Justice Programs at AU and Dr. Dudley for agreeing
- 17 to rework the sample at a late date and still work with us on
- 18 that.
- 19 Anyway, I'd like to make a few short points on the
- 20 regulatory structure in the states. They're very sketchy at this
- 21 point. And then I will let Dr. Pool spend time on the survey,
- 22 which I believe is -- you've mentioned outside of the Indian
- 23 Gaming Regulatory Act and the regulation of Indian gaming, there
- 24 is very little federal gaming regulation. And that, of course,
- 25 may change. Internet gaming may force more federal regulation on
- 26 us as a multitude of laws before Congress indicates.

- Some form of gaming exists in 48 states and the
- 2 District. A list is in the back. And the regulatory structure
- 3 governing that varies greatly among the states. But, as was also
- 4 mentioned, most non-tribal gaming regulation is being done on the
- 5 state level.
- 6 Almost every single state in which there is gaming has
- 7 a statewide gaming commission of some sort, meaning they either
- 8 have a gaming commission, a racing commission, a gaming board,
- 9 which includes all of those things, et cetera.
- The exception is Alabama, which only has four
- 11 racetracks, all told. And they are, even though authorized by
- 12 statute, actually regulated by locally authorized commissions.
- 13 And North Carolina has no regulatory agency, not much gaming
- 14 either.
- Most states regulate state lotteries separately than
- 16 they regulate the rest of their gaming activities. State lottery
- 17 commissions are usually appointed by the governor for specific
- 18 periods. And those vary among states. Some are staggered. Some
- 19 are not. And they need in some states to be confirmed by the
- 20 Senate or the legislature.
- Other state gaming commissions fall into two broad
- 22 categories: one, states in which there is a consolidated gaming
- 23 commission that oversees all forms except maybe the lottery; and
- 24 other states which have different gaming commissions appointed
- 25 for different periods of time and often reporting to different
- 26 executive departments within the states. And those can be any

- 1 number of departments, from the Office of the Governor for some
- 2 harness racing to the Department of Agriculture.
- 3 Some states are extremely specific about the nominating
- 4 criteria for members of the Gaming Commission. For example, the
- 5 Gaming Policy Board in Connecticut consists of five members, and
- 6 they state that no more than three may be of the same political
- 7 party and, additionally, that four members must be experienced in
- 8 at least one of the following: law enforcement, computer styles,
- 9 law, accounting, corporate finance, economic or pari-mutuel
- 10 gaming. And two of these fields must be represented at any one
- 11 time.
- 12 Similarly, the Indiana Gaming Commission has political
- 13 affiliation requirements and also requirements on membership,
- 14 professional proliferation. And so one member must be
- 15 experienced in law enforcement, another a C.P.A., and there must
- 16 be one attorney.
- 17 Indiana law is interesting because it also requires or
- 18 assigns a geographical presentation so that the seven members,
- 19 three must represent counties that are contiguous to Lake
- 20 Michigan, three must represent counties contiguous to the Ohio
- 21 River, and one must represent a county which is neither.
- The nature of the gaming commissions, of course,
- 23 varies, again, among states and depends on the prevalence of
- 24 gaming in the states and statutory legal requirements so that
- 25 some states -- and the full report will have this boring thing
- 26 saying how many paid people or not -- have fully paid
- 27 commissioners, some states have non-paid part-timers.

- The role of the commissions, of the state gaming
- 2 commissions, varies, but in general they're authorized to issue
- 3 and renew gaming licenses, advise the governor on gaming policy,
- 4 and regulate, authorize gaming activities.
- 5 Some states also seek to ensure the integrity of gaming
- 6 legislation by explicitly regulating lobbying activities and
- 7 campaign contributions for gaming sources.
- For instance, in Michigan, the Gaming Control and
- 9 Revenue Act has been amended to prohibit casino operators and
- 10 their employees from making political contributions to state
- 11 public officials.
- 12 And, additionally, in Michigan, the City of Detroit has
- 13 adopted a no-contact policy that forbids the communications
- 14 related to the outcome of merit of a proposal or development
- 15 agreement regarding a gaming operation with the mayor, mayoral
- 16 appointees, members of the city council, any city council
- 17 employee, et cetera. This no-contact period applies to all times
- 18 beginning with the RFP. The request for proposal period ends
- 19 through the final selection and licensing. Additionally, of
- 20 course, many states have lobbying registration laws which apply
- 21 to gambling as well.
- 22 All states with gambling activities establish licensing
- 23 and regulatory procedures, including fingerprinting and
- 24 background checks. Licensing periods vary among states. They
- 25 must be run from one to five years.
- 26 And within any single state, this licensing may differ
- 27 or the licensing period may differ between different forums so

- 1 that there may be a different license period for a river boat,
- 2 rather than a land-based casino.
- The role of actual enforcement of gaming regulations,
- 4 site inspection activities, such as these, fall to different
- 5 bodies. But in many states, they do fall to the state police.
- The example I use here is Louisiana, where while the
- 7 final responsibility for gambling falls to the Gaming Control
- 8 Board, it is the Office of State Police which performs all of the
- 9 activities, issuing permits to non-key gaming employees, renewal
- 10 of permits for video operators, et cetera. The police also
- 11 conduct the investigations that are required for those employees
- 12 that do need to be licensed by the Gaming Commission itself.
- 13 Funding arrangements also vary. Again if I return to
- 14 Louisiana, state police activities that are required for
- 15 inspection and supervision are funded by fees paid by the gaming
- 16 industry, which is pretty common.
- 17 However, the activities of the Louisiana Gaming Control
- 18 Board and of the State Attorney General, who acts as the Gaming
- 19 Control Board's lawyer, are actually funded by appropriations.
- 20 Those last year between them totalled all of 4.1 million.
- On the high end of regulatory expenditure -- and these
- 22 numbers come directly from the GAO report -- last year or in
- 23 1997, New Jersey spent \$54 million. And Nevada spent about \$22
- 24 million. These are all funded by gaming operations.
- 25 As we mentioned, few states -- and I'm going to run
- 26 through them very fast -- do have some local rule. I mentioned

- 1 Alabama has regulation by a separate, independent local racing
- 2 commission.
- Maryland lets a couple of its counties regulate
- 4 something so that Anne Arundel can regulate commercial bingo.
- 5 Michigan lets the City of Detroit play a role in the selection of
- 6 casino license recipients and also play a role in the percentage
- 7 of city residents that are employed at the casino and the
- 8 percentage of the revenue that casino operators will owe.
- 9 And Nevada, of course, has concurrent jurisdiction from
- 10 the state and local authorities. And there are active and
- 11 expensive gaming controls in cities and counties with major
- 12 effect.
- 13 Wyoming, a state with not much gaming, has its
- 14 charitable purpose gaming allowed but only approved by the
- 15 county. And when those activities are authorized, they're
- 16 locally regulated.
- In other states are other forms of very minor local
- 18 regulation. In Texas, local elections are necessary for the
- 19 legalization and establishment of charitable bingo in the local
- 20 jurisdiction. And only after an election was successful can you
- 21 apply for a permit from the state.
- New York allows basically every municipality to
- 23 authorize charitable gaming. California does basically the same
- 24 thing. Virginia, on the other hand, the only one I ever found,
- 25 went the other way. It took charitable gaming out of the hands
- 26 of local authorities in 1995 and organized a Virginia Charitable
- 27 Gaming Commission.

- There is very little control of commercial gaming. One
- 2 notable exception is in the State of California. Once the
- 3 moratorium on new card rooms ends at the end of the year 2000 or
- 4 in January 1, 2001, you would need a majority vote of residents
- 5 in a city or county in order to allow the expansion of gaming.
- 6 And that would be by 25 percent only.
- 7 Arkansas demands statewide vote for the establishment
- 8 of horse racing, but that has to be followed within two years by
- 9 a county referendum. So you cannot introduce new facilities
- 10 without that.
- 11 Similarly, Tennessee, which has no horse racing right
- 12 now, allows one for each major part of the state. But that, too,
- 13 needs approval.
- I am going to I think skip on just the short
- 15 introduction of IGRA in the interest of time and the belief that
- 16 everybody is aware of its requirement and let Amy, or Dr. Pool,
- 17 introduce the survey.
- 18 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Madam Chair?
- 19 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Yes?
- 20 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Madam Chair, at Mr. Bible's
- 21 request, Mr. Belletire, who is going to make a presentation to us
- 22 soon, met with five or six other key state regulators and tried
- 23 to poll their thoughts on what the most essential parts are of
- 24 state regulation.
- In his presentation to the Internet Subcommittee, he
- 26 was very honest that obviously it's not just the laws. It's the

- 1 emphasis. It's the spirit of the regulators. Some states may
- 2 emphasize some areas and others -- excuse me.
- I'm not trying to give your entire presentation. But
- 4 it occurred to me as I was listening to you -- and we'll share
- 5 the blame for this. What we should have asked you to do -- and
- 6 the reason I'm raising this, I hope it's not too late to do --
- 7 is: Do the states you're looking at have the following things as
- 8 you examine the gambling facility or facilities in the 12 states
- 9 you're talking about? Do they have legislative clarity of
- 10 purpose? Do they have real independence of the regulatory
- 11 bodies?
- No, you don't have to write them down. I'm going to
- 13 give you a copy of Mr. Belletire's statement.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Right.
- 15 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Do they have independence in
- 16 the licensure decision-making? Do they really have the power to
- 17 examine suitability for licensure? Do they have competitive
- 18 proposals that are serious competitive proposals, no
- 19 under-the-table stuff, really on-board competitive proposals?
- 20 Do they have full disclosure of financial and political
- 21 relationships with those seeking a license? Do they have the
- 22 explicit power to investigate and approve contracts, the
- 23 regulatory bodies? Do they have real audit oversight powers?
- Do they really control under-age gambling? Do they
- 25 have the power? And do they enforce it? Do they have a code of
- 26 conduct to cover ethical issues, which has real meaning?

- Now, forgive me. The stuff you're giving, it's almost
- 2 like the compilation of laws. It's the mechanics. It's not the
- 3 heart, not so far anyway. I don't know what you're going to give
- 4 us out of the tribal gambling review, but it's not the heart of
- 5 it. It's the heart of it that we need.
- I'm going to give you a copy of this and ask you to try
- 7 to apply these basic principles, which Mr. Belletire didn't say
- 8 it may not be all there is, but he and his colleagues said this
- 9 is most of it.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: What I gave you right now, just for
- 11 clarity's sake, was basically a sort of a review of regulations
- 12 as they are. Dr. Pool will present this sample. And she will
- 13 present tribal information right now because we have done a much
- 14 larger percentage of --
- 15 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: I can appreciate that, but just
- 16 as important to us --
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Right.
- 18 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: -- is getting it at the state
- 19 level.
- 20 MS. SCHWARTZ: I'm trying to answer. When we get to
- 21 the state level -- we have not done enough for me to be
- 22 comfortable presenting those 12 states and 25 institutions, which
- 23 were just the easier part. So we left it to the end of this. So
- 24 we were going to do all of those surveys. And I believe the
- 25 survey in itself will answer a lot of this.

- So when you get that report, which will be as soon as
- 2 possible, there will be a lot more meat to these assertions than
- 3 there is currently.
- 4 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Good.
- 5 COMMISSIONER LANNI: Ms. Schwartz, I would suggest that
- 6 you be very careful. In some of the things you were just saying,
- 7 there is a number of inaccuracies.
- 8 Specifically, you stated that in the area of Michigan,
- 9 that Michigan has ceded some of the licensing responsibility to
- 10 the city. That's not correct. They ceded selection to the city,
- 11 -- MS. SCHWARTZ: Selection, yes.
- 12 COMMISSIONER LANNI: -- the licensing. But you've got
- 13 to be very careful because you're going to give us a report that
- 14 may also have inaccuracies. You also mentioned that Nevada the
- 15 gaming industry pays directly for the cost of regulations. It's
- 16 paid out of the general fund, not paid.
- So you'd better check your information because if this
- 18 goes into a report, it will put some of the others into question.
- 19 You've got to be much more specific than you've been.
- 20 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Dr. Pool?
- DR. POOL: Thank you.
- I want to state on the record that there were no
- 23 methodological reasons for the modification of our contract. And
- 24 it was at the objection of American University and my
- 25 methodologist that we altered our original chart.
- 26 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Does that require a formal --

- DR. POOL: Yes, sir, it did. And I have all of those
- 2 documents in writing. I objected very strenuously to the change
- 3 in scope of the work that I was to do.
- 4 My methodologist, Dr. Robert Dudley, had already drawn
- 5 our sample and written the survey at the time that these
- 6 modifications were requested. So, from there, let me tell you
- 7 what I was charged in writing with doing and how my results
- 8 correlate to that.
- 9 I was asked to do a survey looking at regulations and
- 10 enforcement of gaming activities across jurisdictions and to
- 11 determine the degree to which policies and practices deviate from
- 12 regulations.
- 13 Accordingly, I have two sets of respondents in my
- 14 survey population. One would be the tribal outlets. And the
- 15 other would be industry gaming. We conducted a phone survey of
- 16 the 25 non-tribal gaming outlets.
- We have surveyed both outlets and regulators. They
- 18 represent various forms of gaming. They represent 12 states:
- 19 California, Colorado, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa,
- 20 Louisiana, Mississippi, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, and New
- 21 Jersey. And all of them have significant gaming revenue. They
- 22 were all in the top quarter of gross wagering per capita for
- 23 1997.
- 24 My sample population for tribal gaming, NIGC very
- 25 graciously has cooperated rather extensively with me,
- 26 particularly Allen Fedman, the Director of Enforcement.

- How we ascertained our sample population here, NIGC
- 2 provided five aggregate categories of revenue generation: A, B,
- 3 C, D, and E. Category A represents the top revenue producers, 20
- 4 top revenue producers, which represents 50.5 percent of total
- 5 revenue generated by tribal gaming. Category B is 25 operations.
- 6 That represents 21 percent of tribal gaming revenue; Category C,
- 7 60 operations, 20.1 percent of tribal gaming revenue.
- If you look at Categories A, B, and C, that represents
- 9 over 90 percent of tribal gaming revenue. Our survey is mostly
- 10 complete pending some minor problems with getting a tribe to
- 11 agree to respond to our survey. We're trying to work that out
- 12 with individual tribes at this time.
- Categories D and E are the low revenue-generating
- 14 categories. That represents Category D is 102 outlets, 8 percent
- of total revenue. Category E is 54 outlets,.3 percent of total
- 16 revenue. We have sampled 36 outlets from this bottom category.
- 17 COMMISSIONER MOORE: From the bottom?
- DR. POOL: I'm sorry. From the two bottom categories.
- 19 COMMISSIONER MOORE: Why did you want to do that?
- DR. POOL: That is what the Commission requested from
- 21 me. That is not a methodological judgment on my part. That is
- 22 what I was asked to do. I don't necessarily want to do that.
- 23 That is what I was asked to do.
- 24 For tribal gaming surveys, our sample population, then,
- 25 includes a complete census of Categories A, B, and C, meaning
- 26 that the sample population is exhaustive and all-inclusive, the

- 1 top revenue establishments. And we sampled the 36 outlets in
- 2 Categories D and E.
- Broadly speaking, the survey that we have conducted
- 4 seeks to measure the types of gaming at these establishments, the
- 5 gaming-specific regulation, gaming operation-specific regulation,
- 6 as opposed to, say, food and alcohol regulation, common types of
- 7 regulation that are in existence, the extent or degree of that
- 8 regulation, the perception of regulation versus the actual
- 9 regulation, and the cost of regulation.
- 10 Our survey instrument queried on the following topics:
- 11 largest source of gaming revenue, background checks,
- 12 fingerprinting, reporting of gaming receipts, maintenance of
- 13 records, licensing fee payments, on-site inspections, social
- 14 service expenditures, regulation, accuracy of equipment, training
- 15 for employees, ratio of employees to receipts, alternative
- 16 activities at gaming establishments, and other attractions
- 17 surrounding facilities.
- 18 This survey document went through 13 iterations between
- 19 ACIR. NGISC approved this survey document. We posed the phone
- 20 survey to our respondents. It takes us approximately six to ten
- 21 calls to get a tribe to respond.
- To ensure the integrity of the ongoing research
- 23 process, I'll have to limit the degree to which I can be specific
- 24 and precise about the numbers for you, but I can give you some
- 25 general findings.
- I would make the following assertions. This study is
- 27 remarkable in the degree to which it is simply unremarkable.

- 1 There aren't major complaints or suggestions for improvement by
- 2 either those being regulated, meaning the tribes, or by the
- 3 respondents, the actual regulators. Neither one has major
- 4 complaints or suggestions according to our survey.
- 5 With respect to the degree to which policies and
- 6 practices differ from the laws, generally speaking, tribal gaming
- 7 is more extensive. Tribal regulators do appear to be more
- 8 extensive than NIGC requirements. They're going beyond the
- 9 federal requirements.
- The perceptions of overregulation are not borne out in
- 11 the actual data of respondents, tribal gaming outlets, but
- 12 neither is the perception of under-regulation borne out by the
- 13 data in the responses by the regulators.
- I have specific discussions and examples based on the
- 15 questions. In the interest of time, I will leave it to you as to
- 16 whether you'd like me to get into specifics.
- 17 For example, you could ask me what fingerprinting
- 18 requirements are. I am able to tell you generally speaking what
- 19 our responses are. It may be about regulation, the cost of
- 20 regulation. I will, in the interest of time, make that your
- 21 choice as to whether you would like me to continue with this
- 22 specificity.
- 23 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: I think we will leave that to
- 24 commissioners to ask that level of detail if they desire.
- DR. POOL: Thank you.
- 26 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Are you done?

- DR. POOL: If I may simply tell you what types of
- 2 categories so that you might be better informed to ask questions
- 3 should you desire that information?
- We have information about sources of gaming revenue,
- 5 background checks, fingerprinting, reporting of gaming receipts,
- 6 the maintenance of records, licensing, fee payments, inspections,
- 7 social service expenditures, regulation, the accuracy of
- 8 equipment, training for employees engaged in gaming activities,
- 9 the ratio of employees to receipts, alternative activities of
- 10 gaming establishments.
- 11 With respect to regulation, I can answer questions
- 12 about the changes in reporting requirements, recordkeeping,
- 13 desired regulation that may not be on the books, what regulators
- 14 believe are the most important types of regulation in terms of
- 15 their utility, what regulations may be unnecessary, regulations
- 16 that are recommended to be added, areas to increase enforcement,
- 17 changes in regulatory laws or practices, the state role in
- 18 regulation, and the cost of regulation.
- I will stop there and let you query me should you
- 20 desire.
- 21 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Thank you.
- 22 Commissioner Wilhelm? And I am not going to call on
- 23 any others. So, Leo, just jump right in after that.
- 24 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Since we've been all around here
- 25 this afternoon, I want to see if I can in brief summary form
- 26 understand where we are.

- With respect to a cataloguing of federal laws
- 2 pertaining to gaming, will we have that in complete form?
- 3 MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes.
- 4 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: And on time?
- 5 MS. SCHWARTZ: On the database, which is supposed to be
- 6 May, yes.
- 7 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Okay.
- 8 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: With respect to state laws and
- 9 regulations, we'll have all of those?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes.
- 11 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: And with respect to local laws
- 12 and regulations and ordinances, we'll have all of those, local
- 13 non-tribal?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: I believe so, again, for those places
- 15 where is a local authority in gaming regulation.
- 16 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Of course.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Right, right. We have not collected
- 18 every zoning regulation in every --
- 19 DR. POOL: If it pertains to the gaming industry.
- 20 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: That was my understanding.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes, yes.
- 22 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: So we'll have all of those?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes.
- 24 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Okay. And then with respect to
- 25 tribal material, will we have all of the compacts? I understand
- 26 according to the Governors' Association testimony here that was

- 1 given to us in writing, there are 171 compacts in 24 states
- 2 covering 146 tribes. Will we have all of those?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: You say 161, and they say 171.
- DR. POOL: The numbers are different between NIGC and
- 5 the National Governors' Association.
- 6 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: A hundred, sixty-one. Will we
- 7 have all of those?
- 8 DR. POOL: It would be surprising to me if you did.
- 9 NGISC, the Study Commission, is requesting that information at
- 10 this time. We are in possession of ten compacts. Is that
- 11 correct?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: No. We have more compacts.
- DR. POOL: Oh, we have more compacts?
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes. We have more compacts because we
- 15 have a whole bunch of them just --
- 16 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Look, I don't want to belabor
- 17 this.
- MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes. You have 24 --
- 19 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Those are public documents state
- 20 by state.
- DR. POOL: Yes. I have the 24 state documents.
- 22 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Madam Chair, one of the tribal
- 23 representatives back there apparently has some light that he
- 24 feels he can shed on this. Would that be appropriate?
- 25 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Please?

- MR. ROGERS: One of the problems with the compacts is
- 2 with the Indian gaming establishments at the Bureau of Indian
- 3 Affairs.
- DR. POOL: BIA did deny our request for that.
- 5 MR. ROGERS: Compacts are public record.
- DR. POOL: Well, what they said was that there needed
- 7 to be --
- 8 COMMISSIONER MOORE: Yes, but also --
- 9 DR. POOL: Excuse me. If I may clarify? They said
- 10 that it was too expensive.
- 11 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: No, no, no. You respond to the
- 12 commissioners. You don't tell commissioners "No. Be quiet."
- DR. POOL: I'm sorry.
- 14 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Thank you.
- DR. POOL: I was trying to clarify the point.
- 16 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Commissioner Moore, please go
- 17 ahead.
- 18 COMMISSIONER MOORE: My sympathy goes with you.
- 19 DR. POOL: Thank you.
- 20 COMMISSIONER MOORE: I don't know how you get anything
- 21 out of the Indians. We have been trying to get just plain little
- 22 old C.P.A. reports out of them, but it's illegal for them to give
- 23 them to us.
- DR. POOL: That's correct.
- 25 COMMISSIONER MOORE: It's illegal for them to do
- 26 anything. I've even had sources to tell me that the Indian

- 1 government doesn't even have to give a report to the tribal
- 2 members of the operation of a single casino.
- Mr. Lanni would like to get by with not sending his
- 4 stockholders a report probably, but he's such a nice guy I know
- 5 he wouldn't. He would send it anyway. But these are things that
- 6 are disturbing not only to you but disturbing to us.
- 7 And to follow up on Mr. Wilhelm's remarks, as long as
- 8 we get all the information the best that you can on what you have
- 9 contracted to do, then I think that this Commission can operate.
- 10 But he's more organized than I am.
- 11 You know, I had an old hospital administrator one time
- 12 who said that you always try to do anything with a minimum of
- 13 confusement. And we've had a little bit more than a minimum of
- 14 confusement this afternoon.
- DR. POOL: I concur.
- 16 COMMISSIONER MOORE: Don't you think?
- DR. POOL: Yes, sir.
- 18 COMMISSIONER MOORE: But please go ahead and get all of
- 19 this information you can because we need it.
- 20 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Let me just ask a question for
- 21 point of clarification. These are public documents. Is that
- 22 correct? And are --
- DR. POOL: It's an issue of --
- 24 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: -- you informing this Commission
- 25 that BIA refuses to give public documents?
- DR. POOL: Not necessarily. What it is is an issue of
- 27 cost. I believe the figure that we were quoted and we reported

- 1 to Dr. Kelly was something on the order of \$6,000. I don't
- 2 believe, Commissioner James, that it is an issue of refusing.
- 3 It's a question of what you're willing to pay for because of the
- 4 duplication cost.
- 5 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Yes. Please go ahead.
- DR. POOL: That's my understanding.
- 7 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Wait a minute. I'm recognizing the
- 8 gentleman in the back.
- 9 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: Madam Chairman, we have a
- 10 contract with you that you're supposed to pay for it; right?
- 11 Isn't that in the agreement? You're going to get that
- information for us? Isn't that what we've already paid for?
- DR. POOL: Not in my contract.
- 14 COMMISSIONER DOBSON: If you know what I'm talking
- 15 about.
- 16 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Subcontracting raises its ugly
- 17 head again.
- 18 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: I don't believe this.
- 19 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: Dr. Kelly when he gets back can
- 20 look at the details of the contract.
- 21 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: All I can tell you is that as a
- 22 commissioner, it's a matter of public record, public information.
- 23 We contracted with you to get that information. And I believe
- 24 that it is inexcusable to be here and say that you can't get for
- 25 this Commission public information.
- 26 Thank you.

- MS. SCHWARTZ: I will get every document that I can at
- 2 all get. And I've said that repeatedly.
- 3 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: So we may or may not have all of
- 4 the compacts, whether there are 161 or 171? With respect to
- 5 tribal gaming ordinances and regulations, will we have those?
- 6 MS. SCHWARTZ: Amy?
- 7 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: I'm talking about the catalogue
- 8 now.
- 9 MS. SCHWARTZ: Yes, the ordinances.
- DR. POOL: As I stated before, we have 10 that
- 11 represent 90 percent of the ordinances.
- 12 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: So we won't have all the tribal
- 13 gaming ordinances and regulations.
- DR. POOL: I don't believe so. The response that we
- 15 were given was that this was a legal matter. And we do not have
- 16 the funds to litigate over this issue.
- 17 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: You have 10 that represent 90
- 18 percent of the --
- 19 DR. POOL: That's correct, sir.
- 20 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: I'll recognize the gentleman.
- 21 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: Okay.
- 22 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: And I don't mind calling you "the
- 23 gentleman, " but help me with your name again.
- MR. ROGERS: In the interest of you making bettor use
- 25 of your time and making an informed decision, I've instructed
- 26 that Barry Brandon, the General Counsel for the NIGC, come over
- 27 here and amplify his response or non-response.

- DR. POOL: Barry is the person with whom we worked on
- 2 this.
- MR. ROGERS: He has said that it was his recollection
- 4 or he was searching his files for any correspondence between the
- 5 parties to my right with regard to what was requested, what was
- 6 not requested.
- 7 But with regard to the ten, with regard to the ten --
- 8 and I'm speaking. This is just hearsay because I'm only relying.
- 9 But what he told me was that they provided ten as a
- 10 representative, you know: Take a look at these. And, please, if
- 11 you need something more.
- Now, I'm just speaking what he just told me over the
- 13 phone, but he --
- 14 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: But you instructed him to come over
- 15 here?
- MR. ROGERS: I requested. I said: Barry, it would be
- 17 in the interest of this commission and the interest of the --
- 18 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: I thought you said you instructed
- 19 him.
- MR. ROGERS: No, no, no. I made a simple request.
- 21 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: You represent one of the tribes,
- 22 don't you?
- MR. ROGERS: No, I don't, Mr. Bible. I represent the
- 24 National Indian Gaming Association.
- 25 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: So you're with the association?
- MR. ROGERS: That's right.

- 1 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: I noticed the word "instructed,"
- 2 too. That's sometimes --
- MR. ROGERS: No. I want to make it absolutely
- 4 perfectly clear so --
- 5 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: That you misspoke when you said
- 6 "instructed."
- 7 MR. ROGERS: I think I said "requested" because how --
- 8 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: No. You said "instructed."
- 9 COMMISSIONER MOORE: Didn't you use to represent the
- 10 tribes, not the NIGC but --
- MR. ROGERS: Let's not go down that road.
- 12 COMMISSIONER McCARTHY: I think we all heard it the
- 13 same way. You said it right.
- 14 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: He just misspoke. That's okay.
- MR. ROGERS: That's right. Thank you.
- 16 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: I'm sorry. I'm not the Chair.
- 17 If I could just finish? Thank you.
- 18 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: Thank you very much.
- 19 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: If I could just finish just so I
- 20 understand where we are here? With respect to the non-tribal
- 21 gaming outlets that you're examining, did I understand you to say
- 22 that amongst the 25 you have facilities in the 12 states that you
- 23 listed?
- DR. POOL: That's correct.
- 25 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Just going by memory, I think
- 26 those are sort of the gaming states in terms of --

- DR. POOL: That represents the top quartile of gross
- 2 wagering for 1997.
- 3 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Okay. Top quartile of gross
- 4 wagering. Thank you.
- DR. POOL: That's correct.
- 6 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: And then with respect to the
- 7 survey that you're doing of the tribal outlets, would it be your
- 8 belief that -- for the sake of discussion, if you are surveying
- 9 two non-tribal facilities, let's say, in Nevada, non-tribal,
- 10 would it be your belief that the results of that survey would be
- 11 more or less representative of the regulatory practices in that
- 12 state?
- DR. POOL: Yes, sir, I would as well --
- 14 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Since they have one regulatory
- 15 apparatus for that state?
- DR. POOL: That's correct. For example, in the State
- 17 of California, where there are multiple state tribal outlets,
- 18 there may be one state regulator or regulatory body. There are
- 19 particular regulatory bodies that govern the various tribal
- 20 outlets.
- 21 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: We're not interested in California
- 22 because --
- DR. POOL: Well, no, no.
- COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Wait, wait, please.
- DR. POOL: I'm giving an example not based on the
- 26 actual survey, but speaking to your broader point that one

- 1 regulator may have control or jurisdiction over more than one
- 2 tribe or industry outlet.
- 3 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: So, for example, just since Mr.
- 4 Belletire is sitting next to you, if you were to survey two
- 5 non-tribal outlets in Illinois, am I right that you would think
- 6 that the results of that survey are probably representative of
- 7 the practices in Illinois, non-tribal?
- 8 DR. POOL: That is correct.
- 9 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Okay. So, to that extent at
- 10 least, the 25 non-tribal outlets that you're surveying should be
- 11 representative of the practices and non-tribal regulatory
- 12 practices in those 12 states?
- DR. POOL: That is correct.
- 14 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Now, with respect to your survey
- of the tribal outlets, the point has been made to us a number of
- 16 times in the Indian Gambling Subcommittee by tribal
- 17 representatives that while in the exercise of their sovereignty
- 18 tribes may reach an agreement with a state that cedes some or all
- 19 of the regulatory authority to the state, as in the Nevada
- 20 example -- Bill, correct me if I'm wrong. I believe that the
- 21 four tribal casinos in Nevada are regulated by the Nevada State
- 22 Gaming Control Board.
- 23 COMMISSIONER BIBLE: To a large extent, yes. It varies
- 24 from compact to compact.
- 25 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: In other cases, in other states,
- 26 we have been told in the subcommittee the state's role is less
- 27 and that --

- DR. POOL: That is correct.
- 2 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: -- the role of the tribal
- 3 regulators is greater.
- 4 DR. POOL: That is correct.
- 5 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: So does it follow from that in
- 6 your opinion that in order to have the best possible picture
- 7 given the limitation on resources -- leaving aside the particular
- 8 numbers and the particular strata, does it make sense to you that
- 9 you would need to examine more tribal facilities than non-tribal
- 10 because of the diversity of regulation?
- DR. POOL: I think it would present a more accurate
- 12 picture of the variance of regulatory structures in the United
- 13 States. In other words, the whole universe of regulatory
- 14 techniques that are out there would be more fully represented,
- 15 yes.
- 16 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: By examining more tribal outlets
- 17 because of the diversity of regulatory practice?
- DR. POOL: In theory, the answer is yes. In practice,
- 19 the variance is not as great, but in theory, that assumption is
- 20 correct.
- 21 COMMISSIONER WILHELM: Okay. I just wanted to
- 22 understand that. Thank you.
- 23 CHAIRPERSON JAMES: I'm going to interrupt at this
- 24 point and thank you all very much for your presentation to this
- 25 point. I'm sure there will be additional questions that the
- 26 Commission has and additional opportunity for interaction.